

China Reconstructs

VOL. XXIV No. 3

MARCH 1975

**COMMUNIQUE OF THE
SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE
TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

**DOCUMENTS OF THE
FIRST SESSION OF THE FOURTH
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Special Supplement

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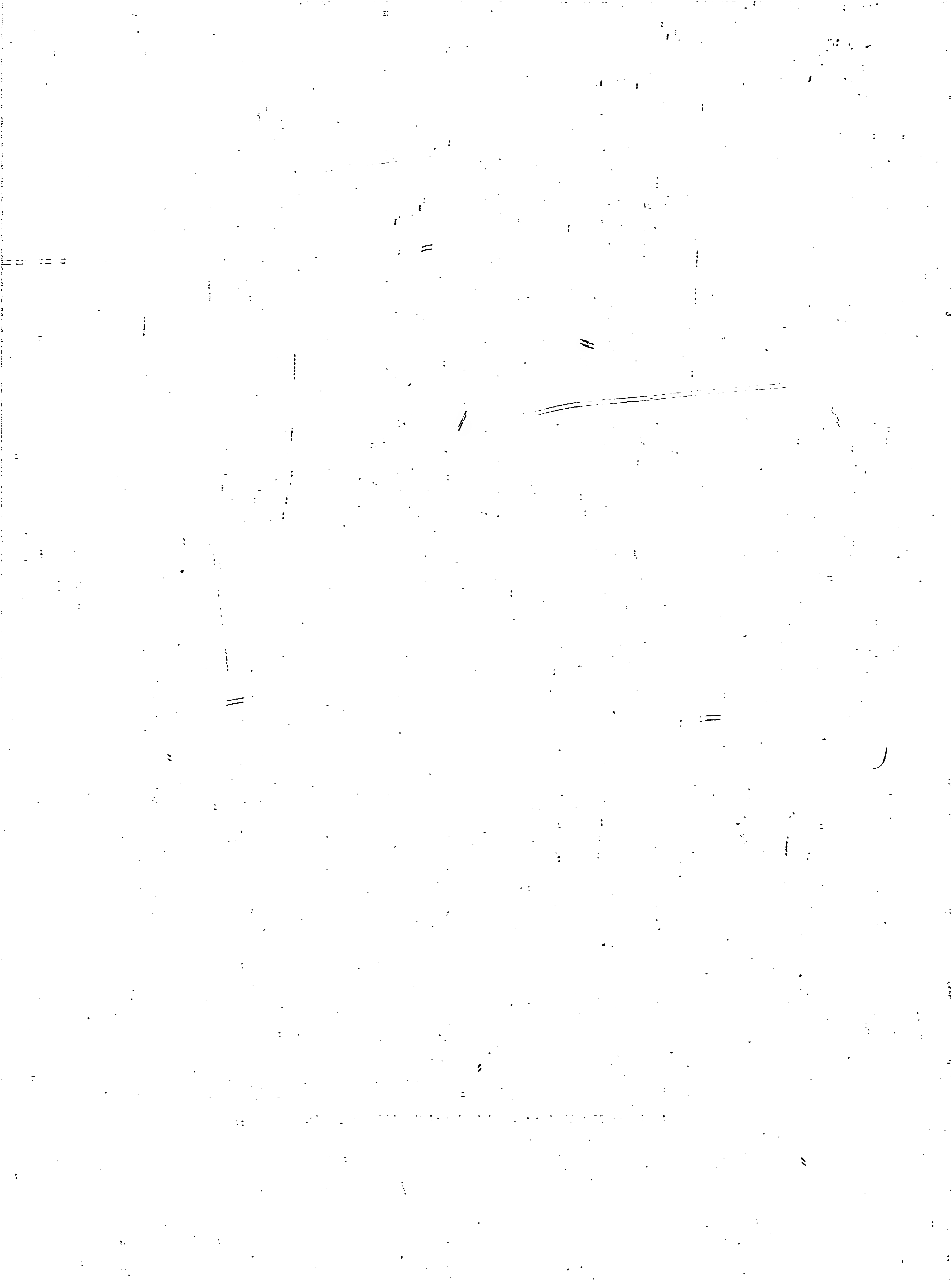
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Chairman Mao Tsetung, great leader of the Chinese people.



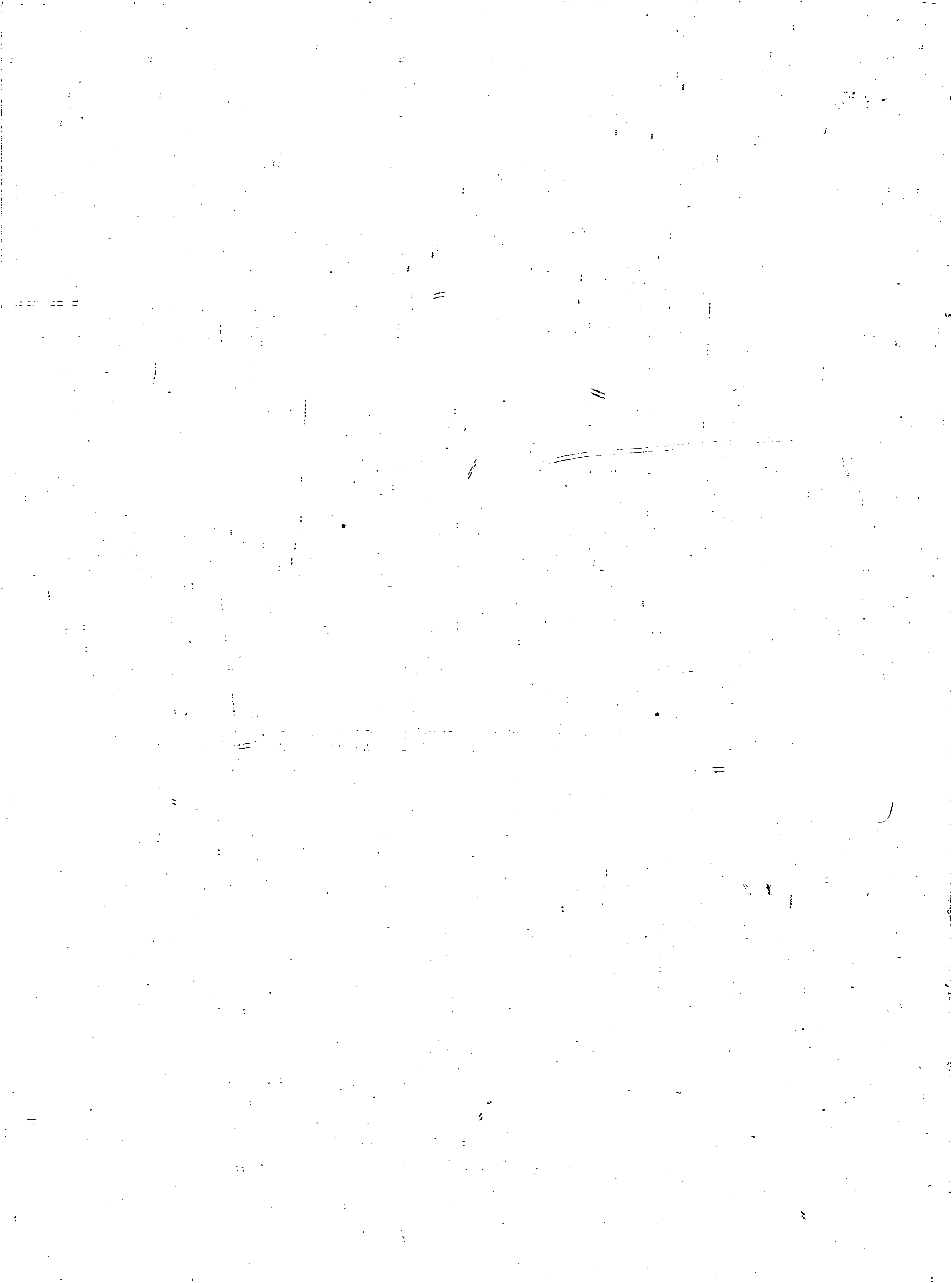
中华人民共和国第四届全国人民代表大会第一次会议



The rostrum at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, held in the Great Hall of the People, Peking, from January 13 to 17, 1975.



The Congress in session



COMMUNIQUE OF THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

THE Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its Second Plenary Session from January 8 to 10, 1975.

The session discussed the preparatory work for the Fourth National People's Congress. It decided to submit to the National People's Congress for deliberation "The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China", "The Report on the Revision of the Constitution", "The Report on

the Work of the Government", as well as lists of nominees for the membership of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council.

The session elected Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping to be Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

January 17, 1975

THE First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China was formally held in Peking from January 13 to 17, 1975.

The agenda of the session was: 1. The revision of the Constitution; 2. The report on the work of the government; and 3. The election and appointment of the leading personnel of the state.

The Congress was held in the Great Hall of the People. On the rostrum was a huge portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, with bright red flags on either side. The Congress elected a presidium composed of 218 deputies. Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu, Soong Ching Ling, Kang Sheng, Liu Po-cheng, Wu Teh, Wei Kuo-ching, Saifudin, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang,

Ulanfu, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen and Yao Lien-wei were permanent chairmen of the presidium. Wu Teh was secretary-general.

Seated in front on the rostrum were also: Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Hsu Shih-yu, Hua Kuo-feng, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Li Teh-sheng, Yao Wen-yuan, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua and Ni Chih-fu.

Chairman Chu Teh declared the Congress open. This was greeted by the deputies with enthusiastic applause. The band played the national anthem.

Comrade Chang Chun-chiao made "The Report on the Revision of the Constitution" on behalf of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Premier Chou En-lai made "The Report on the Work of the Government" on behalf of the State Council.

Starting from January 14, the deputies earnestly discussed "The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the two above-mentioned reports, which were submitted to the Congress for its deliberation by the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

In the course of preparing for the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress, a total of 2,885 deputies were elected from all parts of the country after extensive democratic consultations and repeated discussions. Altogether, 2,864 deputies attended the Congress. There were deputies from among industrial workers, peasants, other working people, the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, patriotic personages and returned overseas Chinese. Worker, peasant and soldier deputies accounted for 72 per cent of the total. Over 22 per cent of the deputies were women. There were deputies from our 54 minority nationalities. Among the deputies present at the Congress were 12 compatriots of Taiwan Province origin. Many deputies are outstanding people who have come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The composition of the Fourth National People's Congress fully demonstrates the great unity of the people of all our nationalities which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which includes patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao; this reflects the flourishing vigour of our great socialist motherland.

Before the formal opening of the Congress, preliminary meetings were held from January 5 to 11, when the deputies discussed the main documents for the Congress and other preparatory work.

The Congress was held at a time when the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country had registered brilliant achievements, when in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had scored big successes and when the situation both at home and abroad was excellent. From beginning to end the Congress was permeated with an atmosphere of jubilation, unity, vigour and militancy. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory.

On January 17, the deputies unanimously adopted the revised "Constitution of the People's Re-

public of China" and "The Report on the Revision of the Constitution" by Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, unanimously adopted the resolution on the report on the work of the government and approved "The Report on the Work of the Government" by Premier Chou En-lai. The deputies celebrated the accomplishment of these glorious and historic tasks with prolonged applause.

On the basis of the lists of nominees put forward by the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Congress after serious discussion elected by secret ballot the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and other members of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress, and appointed the Premier, Vice-Premiers, ministers, and ministers heading the commissions of the State Council.

When the results of the election and the lists of appointment were announced, the hall once again resounded with prolonged and warm applause.

The deputies joyfully said that this Congress had adopted a new fundamental charter for the People's Republic of China, set magnificent tasks for our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction in the days to come, and elected and appointed new leading personnel of the state, and that all this fully reflected the common aspiration of the people of all our nationalities to carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, and would greatly enhance their enthusiasm for socialist revolution, speed up socialist construction, and would exert tremendous influence on the history of our country.

The Congress called on the people of all our nationalities, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to unite still more closely, adhere to the Party's basic line, earnestly implement and courageously defend the new Constitution, endeavour to fulfil the fighting tasks set by the Congress, carry forward the excellent situation, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strive for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Congress pointed out that the people of our country should continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao assiduously, build up a vast Marxist theoretical force and make sure that Marxism occupies all spheres of the superstructure. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we should strengthen the building of revolutionary committees at all levels. We should implement the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting produc-**

tion and other work and preparedness against war; build the country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift; strive to fulfil the national economic plans ahead of schedule and turn China into a powerful modern socialist country.

The Congress pointed out that the present international situation, which is characterized by great disorder under heaven, continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. The contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. The people of all countries must get prepared against a world war. The Congress stressed that we should continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs; uphold proletarian internationalism; strengthen our unity with the socialist

countries and the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world; ally ourselves with all the forces that can be allied with; resolutely support the third world in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop national economy; and support the countries and people of the second world in their struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. The Congress called on the people of the whole country and the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to firmly implement Chairman Mao's principle **dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony**, strengthen preparedness against war, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares intrude. We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

People of all our nationalities, unite and march ahead triumphantly along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

List of Members of the Presidium and the Secretary-General of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

The Presidium:

(218 members. Their names are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Ting Sheng, Yu Hui-yung, Chienbi, Ma Tien-shui, Ma Cheng-shou, Ma Ning, Ma Hui-min (f.), Wang Ta-jen, Wang Feng-en, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Yun-sheng, Wang Ke-chiang, Wang Hung-wen, Wang Wei-chien (f.), Wang Ching-mei (f.), Wang Kan-chang, Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Chen, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Chao-hsiang, Teng Chu-min, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Wei Kuo-ching, Musa Ismail, Yu Tai-chung, Pei Shih-chang, Niu Hsueh-chih, Niu Chien-yi, Mao Yuan-hsin, Oyuntsetseg (f.), Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Pasang (f.), Yeh Chien-ying, Tien Fu-ta, Shih Liang (f.), Pai Ju-ping, Bardi Hasan, Kuang Chien-lien (f.), Feng Yu-lan, Pi Ting-chun, Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Mei-ying (f.), Liu Ta-nien, Liu Ta-chieh, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Wen-hui, Liu Ching-tang, Liu Kuang-tao, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Sheng, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Fei, Chiang Ching (f.), Chiang Wei-ching, Chu Yung-chia, Chu

Kuang-ya, Chu Yun-shan, Chu Teh, Chiao Kuan-hua, Chiao Hsiao-kuang, Wu Chan, Jen Jung, Hsu Shih-yu, Hsu Teh-heng, Hua Kuo-feng, Hua Lokeng, Chuang Tse-tung, Chuang Hsi-chuan, Tang Yi-chieh, Sun Yu-kuo, Sun Yen-kun, Sun Hung-chih (f.), Yen Chi-tzu, Suhe, Su Chen-hua, Tu Chiung-shu (f.), Yang Mu-lan (f.), Yang Li-ju, Yang Kuang, Yang Po-lan (f.), Yang Jung-kuo, Yang Yung, Yang Teh-chih, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Yu-ying (f.), Wu Yu-hsun, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Wu Teh, Wu Yao-tsung, Ho Sheng-hsiang, Yu Chiu-li, Tsou Ching-jung (f.), Hsin Chih-ying (f.), Sha Chien-li, Samalkan (f.), Shen Yen-ping, Sung Chang-keng, Soong Ching Ling (f.), Sung Pei-chang, Chen Yun, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Yung-hsiang, Chen Hsien-jui, Chen Yi-sung, Chen Wang-tao, Chen Shu-ching (f.), Chen Hsi-lien, Li Ta-chang, Li Ching-chuan, Li Shih-ying, Li Shih-jung, Li Ta, Li Kuang-ching, Li Chih-min, Li Hsien-nien, Li Li (f.), Li Shun-ta, Li Su-wen (f.), Li Chiang, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Feng-ling (f.), Chang Ping-hua, Chang Tsung-hsun, Chang Chun-chiao, Chang Tieh-sheng, Chang Yueh-nan (f.), Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Fu-tsai, Ngapo Ngawang-

Jigme, Mao Yi-sheng, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Liyun (f.), Lin Yueh-chuan, Lin Yao-hua, Gojimugu, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Pebala Gelieh-Namje, Chi Fang, Chin Hsiu-ching, Chin Tsu-min, Chou Hsing, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Chien-jen, Chou En-lai, Hsien Henghan, Chu Ching-hua, Meng Chi-mao, Chao Pu-chu, Chao Hsin-chu, Chao Tzu-yang, Jung Yi-jen, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Ching-pi (f.), Hu Chueh-wen, Hu Yuchih, Hou Chun (f.), Fei Yi-min, Yao Wen-yuan, Yao Lien-wei, Chin Chi-wei, Yuan Shui-pai, Nieh Jung-chen, Chin Kuei-hsiang (f.), Chien Hsueh-sen, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Ting-tse, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Chih-hsiang, Hsu Ching-hsiu (f.), Hsu Ching-chou, Kuo Kung-chu, Kuo Mo-jo, Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Chi Yu-

chen (f.), Chang Wei-hua, Tsui Hai-lung, Kang Sheng, Kang Chien-min, Liang Pi-yeh, Liang Hsiangsheng, Peng Chung, Tung Shuang-chin (f.), Tung Pi-wu, Tung Chia-keng, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Hsi-ming, Han Hsien-chu, Chin Ying-chi, Su Yu, Fu Yufang (f.), Tung Ti-chou, Lu Jui-lin, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Ping-hsin (f.), Hsieh Shuan-kuei, Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Jui Pan, Lan Jung-ying (f.), Lan Sheng-hua (f.), Lu Hsi-chieh, Hsiao Wen-yen (f.), Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tsai Chang (f.), Liao Chih-kao, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Tan Yu-pao, Tan Chilung, Tan Chen-lin, Fan Teh-ling, Pan Kuang-sheng, Hsueh Ching-chuan, Hsueh Hsi-mei (f.).

The Secretary-General: Wu Teh.

Proclamation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

IT is hereby proclaimed that the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China elected on January 17, 1975 the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and other members of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress:

Chairman: Chu Teh.

Vice-Chairmen: Tung Pi-wu, Soong Ching Ling (f.), Kang Sheng, Liu Po-cheng, Wu Teh, Wei Kuo-ching, Saifudin, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang (f.), Ulanfu, Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen (f.), Yao Lien-wei.

Members:

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Chienbi, Ma Cheng-chieh, Ma Chun-ku, Ma Hsueh-li, Ma Heng-chang, Wang Shih-tai, Wang Shih-hui, Wang Kuan-lan, Wang Kechiang, Wang Hsiu-chen (f.), Wang Tso-shan, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Mao-chuan, Wang Kan-chang, Wang Ching-sheng, Wang Tao-yi, Wang Yao-hua (f.), Teng Chu-min, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Ou Tang-liang (f.), Pei Shih-chang, Niu Fa-ho, Mao Ti-chiu, Pa-

sang (f.), Kan Tsu-chang, Lungmei (f.), Shih Liang (f.), Pai Shou-yi, Bardi Hasan, Pak Chun Za (f.), Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Cheng-tsao, Lu Mei-ying (f.), Liu Ta-nien, Liu Wen-hui, Liu Fei, Chiang Li-yin, Chu Ke-chia, Chu Liang-tsai, Chu Yun-shan, Wu Hsiu-chuan, Hsu Tsun-kuei, Hua Lo-keng, Chuang Hsi-chuan, Sun Yu-kuo, Yen Chi-tzu, Keyum Matniyaz, Yang Tung-chun, Yang Po-lan (f.), Yang Pei-lien (f.), Yang Jung-kuo, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Tsung-shu, Wu Yuying (f.), Wu Hsien-feng, Wu Yu-hsun, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Cheng-ching, Wu Teh-feng, Wu Yao-tsung, Sha Chien-li, Samalkan (f.), Chen Yu-niang (f.), Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Ah-ta, Chen Chi-han, Chen Yi-sung, Chen Wang-tao, Chen Shu-ching (f.), Li Fenglan (f.), Li Shih-jung, Li Ching-lin, Li Yenlu, Li Chin-jung, Li Shun-ta, Li Chu-kuei, Chang Wen-yu, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Kuo-ching (f.), Chang Hung-chih, Chang Kueichen (f.), Chang Tieh-sheng, Chang Fu-tsai, Wu Hsin-yu, Mao Yi-sheng, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Liyun (f.), Yen Shuai, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Chi Fang, Chin Hsiu-ching, Chin Tsu-min, Chou Shih-chao, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Hsi-lin, Chou Hui-fen (f.), Paojihletai (f.), Chao Chung-yao, Chao Chun-chen (f.), Jung Yi-jen, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Sheng, Hu Yuchih, Hou Chun (f.), Yu Ai-

feng (f.), Yao Shih-chang, Chin Kuei-hsiang (f.), Hsia Chu-hua (f.), Yin Cheng-chung, Kuo Hung-chieh, Kuo Ying-fu, Tang Ke-pi (f.), Tang Chi-shan, Hao Liang, Chu Hui-fen (f.), Tao Chih-yueh, Chi Peng-fei, Huang Tso-chin, Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsui Hai-lung, Kang Ke-ching (f.), Liang Pi-yeh, Liang Chi-chuan, Peng Shao-hui, Tung Tien-chen, Tung Chia-keng, Tung Chi-wu, Su Yu, Fu Yu-fang (f.), Fu Chiu-tao, Tung Ti-chou, Tseng Sheng, Tseng Chih (f.),

Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Tsoji (f.), Hsieh Li-fu, Tsai Shu-mei (f.), Liao Cheng-chih, Fan Teh-ling, Hsueh Ching-chuan, Hsueh Hsi-mei (f.), Wei Ping-kuei.

Presidium of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

January 17, 1975

Peking

Proclamation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

IT is hereby proclaimed that on January 17, 1975, the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China appointed, on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Premier, Vice-Premiers, ministers, and ministers heading commissions of the State Council of the People's Republic of China as follows:

Premier: Chou En-lai.

Vice-Premiers: Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Chiao Kuan-hua,

Minister of National Defence: Yeh Chien-ying,

Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission: Yu Chiu-li,

Minister in Charge of the State Capital Construction Commission: Ku Mu,

Minister of Public Security: Hua Kuo-feng,

Minister of Foreign Trade: Li Chiang,

Minister of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries: Fang Yi,

Minister of Agriculture and Forestry: Sha Feng,

Minister of Metallurgical Industry: Chen Shao-kun,

Minister of the First Ministry of Machine-Building: Li Shui-ching,

Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building: Liu Hsi-yao,

Minister of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building: Li Chi-tai,

Minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine-Building: Wang Cheng,

Minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine-Building: Li Cheng-fang,

Minister of the Sixth Ministry of Machine-Building: Pien Chiang,

Minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building: Wang Yang,

Minister of Coal Industry: Hsu Chin-chiang,

Minister of Petroleum and Chemical Industries: Kang Shih-en,

Minister of Water Conservancy and Power: Chien Cheng-ying (f.),

Minister of Light Industry: Chien Chih-kuang,

Minister of Railways: Wan Li,

Minister of Communications: Yeh Fei,

Minister of Posts and Telecommunications: Chung Fu-hsiang,

Minister of Finance: Chang Ching-fu,

Minister of Commerce: Fan Tzu-yu,

Minister of Culture: Yu Hui-yung,

Minister of Education: Chou Jung-hsin,

Minister of Public Health: Liu Hsiang-ping (f.), and

Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission: Chuang Tse-tung.

Presidium of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

January 17, 1975

Peking

Proclamation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

THE Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China", which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China submitted to the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress for its deliberation, was unanimously adopted by the Congress on January 17, 1975.

The new "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" is hereby promulgated.

Presidium of the First Session of the
Fourth National People's Congress
of the People's Republic of China

January 17, 1975

Peking

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Adopted on January 17, 1975, by the Fourth
National People's Congress of the
People's Republic of China at its First Session).

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PREAMBLE

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a victory gained only after the Chinese people had waged a heroic struggle for over a century and, finally, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by a people's revolutionary war.

For the last twenty years and more, the people of all nationalities in our country, continuing their triumphant advance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved great victories both in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and have consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

We should consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and develop the revolutionary united front. We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them. We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people.

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a powerful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

ARTICLE 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body.

The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

Deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are elected through democratic consultation. The electoral units and electors have the power to supervise the deputies they elect and to replace them at any time according to provisions of law.

ARTICLE 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

All the nationalities are equal. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages.

ARTICLE 5

In the People's Republic of China, there are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production at the present stage: Socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people.

The state may allow non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighbourhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural people's communes. At the same time, these individual labourers should be guided onto the road of socialist collectivization step by step.

ARTICLE 6

The state sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy.

All mineral resources and waters as well as the forests, undeveloped land and other resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize urban and rural land as well as other means of production under conditions prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 7

The rural people's commune is an organization which integrates government administration and economic management.

The economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the production team at the basic level, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit.

Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs.

ARTICLE 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state shall ensure the consolidation and development of the socialist economy and prohibit any person from undermining the socialist economy and the public interest in any way whatsoever.

ARTICLE 9

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

The state protects the citizens' right of ownership to their income from work, their savings, their houses, and other means of livelihood.

ARTICLE 10

The state applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material and cultural life step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

ARTICLE 11

State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the masses and whole-heartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour.

Every organ of state must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

ARTICLE 12

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour.

ARTICLE 13

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ARTICLE 14

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

ARTICLE 15

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China; they are the armed forces of the people of all nationalities.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is at all times a fighting force, and simultaneously a working force and a production force.

The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

Section I. The National People's Congress

ARTICLE 16

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government, and the People's Liberation Army. When necessary, a certain number of patriotic personages may be specially invited to take part as deputies.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Its term of office may be extended under special circumstances.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

ARTICLE 17

The functions and powers of the National People's Congress are: to amend the Constitution, make laws, appoint and remove the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts, and exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

ARTICLE 18

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. Its functions and powers are: to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress, interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, ratify and denounce treaties concluded with foreign states, and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and other members, all of whom are elected and subject to recall by the National People's Congress.

Section II. The State Council

ARTICLE 19

The State Council is the Central People's Government. The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premiers, the ministers, and the ministers heading commissions.

ARTICLE 20

The functions and powers of the State Council are: to formulate administrative measures and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees; exercise unified leadership over the work of ministries and commissions and local organs of state at various levels throughout the country; draft and implement the national economic plan and the state budget; direct state administrative affairs; and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III. The Local People's Congresses and the Local Revolutionary Committees at Various Levels

ARTICLE 21

The local people's congresses at various levels are the local organs of state power.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of prefectures, cities and counties are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of rural people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 22

The local revolutionary committees at various levels are the permanent organs of the local people's congresses and at the same time the local people's governments at various levels.

Local revolutionary committees are composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members, who are elected and subject to recall by the people's congress at the corresponding level. Their election or recall shall be submitted for examination and approval to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to the people's congress at the corresponding level and to the organ of state at the next higher level.

ARTICLE 23

The local people's congresses at various levels and the local revolutionary committees elected by them ensure the execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their respective areas; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; maintain revolutionary order; and safeguard the rights of citizens.

Section IV. The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

ARTICLE 24

The autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas; their organs of self-government are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in

Chapter Two, Section III of the Constitution, may exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

The higher organs of state fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Section V. The Judicial Organs and the Procuratorial Organs

ARTICLE 25

The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses and their permanent organs at the corresponding levels. The presidents of the people's courts are appointed and subject to removal by the permanent organs of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of procuratorial organs are exercised by the organs of public security at various levels.

The mass line must be applied in procuratorial work and in trying cases. In major counter-revolutionary criminal cases the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 26

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China.

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression. It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service according to law.

ARTICLE 27

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.

Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.

The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese.

ARTICLE 28

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

ARTICLE 29

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific activities.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATIONAL FLAG, THE NATIONAL EMBLEM AND THE CAPITAL

ARTICLE 30

The national flag has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem: Tien An Men in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital is Peking.

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

(Delivered on January 13, 1975 and adopted on January 17, 1975
at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress
of the People's Republic of China)

Chang Chun-chiao

Fellow Deputies!

The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Congress for its deliberation has been issued to all the deputies. At the behest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall explain some points.

Twenty years ago, in 1954, the First National People's Congress adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "An organization must have rules, and a state also must have rules; the Constitution is a set of general rules and is a fundamental charter." The Constitution of 1954 was China's first constitution of a socialist type. In the

form of a fundamental charter it summed up historical experience, consolidated the victories of our people and mapped out a clear, well-defined course of advance for the people of the whole country. Practice in the last twenty years has proved that that Constitution was correct. Its basic principles are still applicable today. However, as tremendous changes have taken place in China's politics, economy and culture and in international relations since 1954, some parts of the Constitution are no longer suitable. In the present revision of the Constitution our main task is to sum up our new experience, consolidate our new victories and express the common desire of the people of our country to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of the new victories won by our people in the last two decades the most significant has been the step-by-step consolidation and development of the socialist system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. What is more important is that, in the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao formulated for us a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism by applying the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice. He says:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Both the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of the Party reaffirmed this basic line. Our struggles against Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao have focused on one issue:

whether to uphold this basic line or to change it. Past and present class struggles all prove that this basic line is the lifeline of our Party as well as of our country. As long as we uphold it, we shall assuredly be able to overcome all difficulties, defeat enemies at home and abroad and win greater victories. This is the main experience we have gained and also our guiding thought in revising the Constitution.

The draft revised Constitution now submitted is the continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution. It was born out of repeated discussions among the people of all our nationalities and is the outcome of combining the ideas of the leading organizations and those of the masses. The Preamble is new. The number of articles has been reduced from 106 to 30. The important revisions are as follows:

(1) Starting from the Preamble, the draft revised text records the glorious history of the Chinese people's heroic struggle. "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people" and "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation" — such is the conclusion which the people of our country have drawn from their historical experience of more than a century and which is now inscribed in the General Principles of the draft. The draft stipulates, "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China." It also stipulates, "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces." Since no chairmanship of state is instituted, the draft makes a corresponding revision of the provisions of the 1954 Constitution concerning the structure of the state. All this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country.

(2) The draft stipulates, "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." It stipulates that the worker, peasant and soldier deputies shall form the main body of people's congresses at all levels. It also specifies the targets of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sets forth the policies of the dictatorship. The draft includes in separate articles the rural people's communes, which integrate government administration and economic management, and the local revolutionary committees at various levels formed on the basis of the revolutionary three-in-one combination, both of which emerged from great revolutionary mass movements. Thus, the

class nature of our state and the status of each class in our country are clearly defined. Marx and Lenin consistently teach us, "The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "The proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat." Our draft adheres to this principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and is sharply demarcated from such fallacies as Confucius' "benevolent government" or the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "state of the whole people."

As for our dictatorship of the proletariat, firstly, within the country it suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities; and secondly, it protects our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. It is the magic weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it. We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities, strengthen the People's Liberation Army and the people's militia which are the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strengthen the building of state organs. We should continue to consolidate the alliance of the working class with its reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the masses of intellectuals, and develop the revolutionary united front which includes the patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages in all walks of life. Only in this way can we unite with all the forces that can be united with, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat effectively, defend the socialist system, and consolidate the independence and security of our great motherland.

(3) The dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand exercises dictatorship over the enemy and on the other practises democratic centralism within the ranks of the people. Without ample democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to build socialism. The draft stipulates that all organs of state shall practise democratic centralism and specifies the democratic rights of citizens, and especially the rights of the fraternal minority nationalities and of women. It also stipulates that the masses shall have the right to speak out freely, air views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters. Moreover, in accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the specification that citizens enjoy freedom to strike has been added to Article 28 of the draft. We are convinced that the revolutionary masses, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will apply these provisions still better and "create a political situation in

which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

(4) The task of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production put forth in the 1954 Constitution has in the main been completed. The draft fully affirms this great victory of the Chinese people and lays it down that at the present stage our country has mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production, namely, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people. The draft also contains provisions regarding non-agricultural individual labourers and allowing people's commune members to farm small plots for their personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production. These provisions integrate the principle of adherence to socialism with the necessary flexibility and are sharply demarcated from such fallacies as those advocated by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao on the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own and the abolition of farm plots for personal needs.

The draft reiterates the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, and stipulates a series of principles and policies for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base.

It should be pointed out that in our country we still have harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Like the morning sun, our socialist system is still very young. It was born in struggle and can only grow in struggle. Take the state sector of the economy for example. In some enterprises, the form is that of socialist ownership, but the reality is that their leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The bourgeoisie will seize hold of many fronts if the proletariat does not occupy them. Confucius died more than two thousand years ago, yet such rubbish as his never vanishes of itself where the broom of the proletariat does not reach. The draft lays down that "state organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought", that "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" and that state organizations and state personnel must maintain close ties with the masses and overcome unhealthy tendencies. It is precisely the purpose of these provisions to call on

us to pay keen attention to grasping socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and to pay attention to solving problems concerning the relations of production. We must broaden, deepen and persevere in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and occupy all fronts with Marxism.

(5) In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, **Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony**, we have written into the draft that "China will never be a superpower" in order to show that our country does not seek hegemony today and that it never will. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. We shall always unite with the people of all countries in the common struggle to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the face of the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Fellow Deputies!

The work of revising the Constitution has been going on for nearly five years. This Congress will

complete the work and promulgate the new fundamental charter of the People's Republic of China. This is a major event calling for our enthusiastic celebration. In order to win and defend the right to people's democracy and socialism, smash the schemes of Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao for restoring capitalism internally and capitulating and selling out the country externally, and defeat reactionaries both at home and abroad, the people of our country have long engaged in sharp and complex struggles, in which tens of thousands of martyrs have laid down their lives. It is precisely the victories of these struggles that have given birth to this socialist Constitution. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities and, first of all, the Communists and state personnel, will earnestly implement and courageously defend this Constitution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, so as to ensure that our great motherland will forever forge ahead victoriously along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Resolution of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on the Report on the Work of the Government

(Adopted on January 17, 1975)

THE First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress approves "The Report on the Work of the Government" made by Premier Chou En-lai to the Congress on behalf of the State Council. The Congress holds that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

tion and the current nation-wide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the State Council has, since the Third National People's Congress, achieved tremendous successes in all aspects of internal and external work. The deputies attending the session are convinced that we can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years and more before the end of the century.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

(Delivered on January 13, 1975 at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China)

Chou En-lai

Fellow Deputies!

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall make a report on behalf of the State Council to the Fourth National People's Congress on the work of the government.

Since the Third National People's Congress, the most important event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. In essence this is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi

and of Lin Piao and smashed their plots to restore capitalism. The current nation-wide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is the continuation and deepening of this great revolution. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. The cultural revolution has provided new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; its historical significance is great and its influence far-reaching.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities have

unfolded a mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thus heightened their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has achieved major successes. The three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young have forged closer links with the masses. Successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution are maturing in large numbers. The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works is developing in depth. The revolution in education and in health work is thriving. The cadres and the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial workers are persevering on the May 7th road. Over a million barefoot doctors are becoming more competent. Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas. With the participation of workers, peasants and soldiers the Marxist theoretical contingents are expanding. The emergence of all these new things has strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, and this further helps consolidate and develop the socialist economic base.

We have overfulfilled the Third Five-Year Plan and will successfully fulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975. Our country has won good harvests for thirteen years running. The total value of agricultural output for 1974 is estimated to be 51 per cent higher than that for 1964. This fully demonstrates the superiority of the people's commune. While China's population has increased 60 per cent since the liberation of the country, grain output has increased 140 per cent and cotton 470 per cent. In a country like ours with a population of nearly 800 million, we have succeeded in ensuring the people their basic needs in food and clothing. Gross industrial output for 1974 is estimated to be 190 per cent more than 1964, and the output of major products has greatly increased. Steel has increased 120 per cent, coal 91 per cent, petroleum 650 per cent, electric power 200 per cent, chemical fertilizer 330 per cent, tractors 520 per cent, cotton yarn 85 per cent and chemical fibres 330 per cent. Through our own efforts in these ten years we have completed 1,100 big and medium-sized projects, successfully carried out hydrogen bomb tests and launched man-made earth satellites. In contrast to the economic turmoil and inflation in the capitalist world, we have maintained a balance between our national revenue and expenditure and contracted no external or internal debts. Prices have remained stable, the people's livelihood has steadily improved and socialist construction has flourished. Reactionaries at home and

abroad asserted that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would certainly disrupt the development of our national economy, but facts have now given them a strong rebuttal.

Along with the people of other countries, we have won tremendous victories in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and in particular against the hegemonism of the superpowers. We have smashed imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion, and have strengthened our unity with the people of all countries, and especially the third world countries. China's seat in the United Nations, of which she had long been illegally deprived, has been restored to her. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with us has increased to nearly 100, and more than 150 countries and regions have economic and trade relations and cultural exchanges with us. Our struggle has won widespread sympathy and support from the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities are more united and our army has grown stronger. Our great motherland is still more consolidated. All our successes are great victories for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Fellow Deputies!

The Tenth National Congress of our Party again elucidated the Party's basic line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and pointed out even more clearly the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of all our nationalities should unite still more closely, adhere to the Party's basic line and policies, endeavour to fulfil the various fighting tasks set forth by the Party's Tenth Congress, consolidate and enhance the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and strive for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our primary task is to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute. We must never relax our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius because of the big success-

es already achieved in this movement. We should go on deepening the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and in line with the principle of **making the past serve the present**, sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, build up a vast Marxist theoretical force in the course of struggle and use Marxism to occupy all spheres in the superstructure: The key to the fulfilment of this task is for the cadres and the masses to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao assiduously in order to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism. Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we should further advance the revolution in literature and art, in education and in health work, promote struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and support all the new things so as the better to keep to the socialist orientation.

Under the leadership of the Party, we should strengthen revolutionary committees at all levels. Leading bodies at all levels should become more conscious of the need to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and maintain closer ties with the masses. We should make active efforts to train young cadres, women cadres and minority nationality cadres, and make a point of selecting outstanding workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for leading posts. We should have better staff and simpler administration with fewer levels. New and veteran cadres should learn from each other and strengthen their unity, and they should be ready to work at any post, high or low, persist in collective productive labour and whole-heartedly serve the people.

We should strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, implement the Party's policies conscientiously and ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. We should rely on the broad masses to deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We should earnestly strive to do well in resolving contradictions among the people with democratic methods in accordance with the principle of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity**, and thus give full play to the masses' enthusiasm for socialism.

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities. We should whole-heartedly rely on the working class and the

poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the many intellectuals and further develop the revolutionary united front which, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, includes the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao. We should unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses and unite with all the forces that can be united with in a joint effort to build our great socialist motherland.

Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces. We must adhere to the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war**, and with revolution in command, work hard to increase production and speed up socialist construction so that our socialist system will have a more solid material foundation.

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's Congress that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning from the Third Five-Year Plan: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world.

We should fulfil or overfulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975 in order to reinforce the foundations for completing the first stage before 1980 as envisaged above. In the light of the situation at home and abroad, the next ten years are crucial for accomplishing what has been envisaged for the two stages. In this period we shall not only build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system, but march towards the splendid goal set for the second stage. With this objective in mind, the State Council will draw up a long-range ten-year plan, five-year plans and annual plans. The ministries and commissions under the State Council and the local revolutionary committees at all levels down to the industrial and mining enterprises and production teams and other grass-roots units should all arouse the masses to work out their plans through full discussion and strive to attain our splendid goal ahead of time.

In order to keep on expanding our socialist economy, we must persist in the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in build-**

ing socialism and continue to apply the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and the series of policies of walking on two legs. We should work out the national economic plan in this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry, heavy industry. We should give full play to the initiative of both central and local authorities under the state's unified planning. We should implement the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company still better and deepen the mass movements — In industry, learn from Taching and In agriculture, learn from Tachai.

While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production. We should thoroughly criticize revisionism, criticize capitalist tendencies and criticize such erroneous ideas and styles of work as servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and extravagance and waste.

Chairman Mao points out, **"Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line."** This line has enabled us to break the imperialist blockade and withstand social-imperialist pressure, and the progress of our economy has been sound and vigorous all along, regardless of economic fluctuations and crises in the capitalist world. We must always adhere to this line.

Fellow Deputies!

The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater. The capitalist world is facing the most serious economic crisis since the war, and all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. Soviet social-imperialism "makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west". The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploit-

ers today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people and the future of the world will be bright.

We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, always keep the people in mind, place our hopes on them and do our external work better. We should uphold proletarian internationalism and strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with each supporting the other. We should ally ourselves with all the forces in the world that can be allied with to combat colonialism, imperialism and above all superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish or develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The third world is the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. We should enhance our unity with the countries and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and resolutely support them in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence, defend their state sovereignty, protect their national resources and develop their national economy. We firmly support the just struggles of the people of Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Palestine and the Arab countries as well as countries in southern Africa. We support the countries and people of the second world in their struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle. We are ready to work together with the Japanese Government and people to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement.

There exist fundamental differences between China and the United States. Owing to the joint efforts of both sides the relations between the two countries have improved to some extent in the last three years, and contacts between the two peoples have developed. The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest.

The Soviet leading clique have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and our debate with them on matters

of principle will go on for a long time. However, we have always held that this debate should not obstruct the maintenance of normal state relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership have taken a series of steps to worsen the relations between the two countries, conducted subversive activities against our country and even provoked armed conflicts on the border. In violation of the understanding reached between the Premiers of China and the Soviet Union as early as 1969, they refuse to sign the agreement on the maintenance of the status quo on the border, the prevention of armed conflicts and the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border, an agreement which includes the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. Hence the negotiations on the Sino-Soviet boundary question have so far yielded no results. They even deny the existence of the disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet border, and they even refuse to do anything about such matters as the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border and the prevention of armed conflicts; instead they talk profusely about empty treaties on the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. So what can their real intention be if not to deceive the Soviet people and world public opinion? We wish to advise the Soviet leadership to sit down and negotiate honestly, do something to solve a bit of the problem and stop playing such deceitful tricks.

Chairman Mao teaches us, **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony."** **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."** We should maintain vigilance, strengthen our defence and be prepared against war. The heroic People's Liberation Army shoulders the glorious task of defending the motherland. The whole army should resolutely implement Chairman Mao's line for army building to strengthen the army and enhance preparedness against war. We should build the people's militia conscientiously and well. Together with the people of all our nationalities, the People's Liberation Army and the masses of the people's militia should be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares intrude.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan! Fellow-countrymen in Taiwan and people of the whole country, unite and work together to achieve the noble aim of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland!

Fellow Deputies!

In the excellent situation prevailing at home and abroad, we should first of all run China's affairs

well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity.

We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and grasp major issues, grasp the line, and adhere to these fundamental principles, **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."**

We must resolutely support the centralized leadership of the Party. **Of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.** We must put all fields of work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

We must carry forward the glorious tradition of observing discipline, conscientiously practise democratic centralism, and, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieve **unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.**

We must persist in the mass line: **From the masses, to the masses;** we must have unshakable faith in the vast majority of the masses and firmly rely on them. Both in revolution and in construction, we should boldly arouse the people and unfold vigorous mass movements.

We must work hard, build the country and run all undertakings with diligence and thrift. **We should maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end.**

We must uphold proletarian internationalism, and **get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.** We will never seek hegemony; we will never be a superpower; we will always stand with the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked energetically, surmounted all difficulties and hazards, and turned a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only twenty years and more. We can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years and more before the end of the century. We should continue to work hard, carry forward our achievements and overcome our shortcomings, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and continue our triumphant advance. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us **unite to win still greater victories!**

